

/6 cont./

843 They are normal although extremely small and undernourished. As the months pass, such an infant gradually recovers from the prenatal treatment and toward the end of the third year reaches normal size and acquires the usual physical characteristics of a child of ordinary type.

[262] The Guajiro mother does not like to adopt this treatment, but she will make use of it when in previous cases she has had a difficult delivery. She is proud of the large size and robustness of her children, and it is a cause of pleasure to her when they are admired. It is more usual for her to employ another group of practices, dietetic ones, such as those which advise abstaining from eating cheese, butter at meals, or fat meat, adding milk to corn mazamorra, and drinking large quantities of water daily before eating, during the entire pregnancy, in order to prevent the too active growth of the fetus and to have, as a result, a less difficult delivery.

The practices we have been describing are also recommended to keep the woman from developing to an exaggerated size which would hinder her movements both in carrying out her domestic duties and in the long distances she has to walk.

843 During the final months of pregnancy, she abstains from
784 sexual relations, both by her own wish and that of her husband,
[634] in the belief that /7/ they would cause the child to be born sickly and the delivery to be prolonged, possibilities which are their main concern and the avoidance of which justifies the practice of any treatment that prevents them. Also, during the final months of her pregnancy, the woman is prohibited, within practical limits, from lifting heavy things, carrying water from wells and loads of seeds, carting firewood, or loading burros. But only women of outstanding economic position who have female bond servants and slaves to carry out such chores are able to observe these precautions. It is not rare, therefore, to find that the Guajiro woman is obliged to do her daily work to the detriment of her condition, for after one of these exertions, a woman is liable to suffer an immediate miscarriage.

/108 cont. /

833 been deprived of her will and that she does not count as a person. For these reasons she regards her marital life as a hard duty to perform, at odds with her own personality. Possibly, for this reason, the man seeks out the mestizo, who is free of these prejudices and for that reason more capable to give and to derive for herself greater satisfaction from her marital life than the pure Indian woman.

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833 As it is not uncommon for a man to have two, three, or even more co-wives living together in one house, his conduct in his conjugal relations must be very circumspect if he wishes to preserve, at least in appearance, a cordial or friendly feeling among them, because if he is not circumspect, jealousies will spring up and a bitter struggle of lengthy repercussions ensue. As each one of the wives endeavors to find a motive that will justify her as superior in the eyes of the others, he has to behave with extreme caution. For this reason he sleeps outside in the enramada /bough-covered shelter/ while his women and their children sleep inside the house. He never suggests to any one of them that they should spend the night together, as the one thus favored would announce this preference to place herself on a superior plane. For this reason he receives whichever one goes voluntarily to him to his hammock.

834 The man suspends marital relations during the time the woman's pregnancy is advanced. He does this for fear of causing a miscarriage for which he might be blamed, and because of the belief that it might give rise to a bad delivery.

After the birth of the child, marital life is not resumed until the woman voluntarily asks for it.

842 Ideas about fecundation. The Guajiro knows that fecundation is the result of the combined action of the woman and the man through the means of the sexual act. They know that in this act the man gives an element which joined to the feminine one will form the new being. They say that the [826] woman has in her internal parts a special organ in which this new being will gradually take form, the womb, called in their

[16 cont.]

*756 over, the young shaman [17] was secluded for two months in her home. She dedicated this period to practicing chewing tobacco, and the act of invoking the spirits, the way of curing the sick, bringing rainfall, "shamanizing," animals, keeping pestilence away, etc. The maraca and the crown (kiara, in Guajiro) were made by her during this seclusion, although they could have been bought or ordered to be made by others. At the end of this two months' seclusion, it was essential, in order to terminate the young shaman's cycle of initiation into shamanism, to prepare 796 ten containers of corn chicha and to invite many Indians from different sections to be present at the true graduation of the initiate. That night, while the others danced and drank, the young shaman remained practicing her arts. It is common on these occasions for the spirit to approach the aspiring shaman and say, for example: "Go look for an animal of such-and-such characteristics (it describes the desired animal minutely in all its details) and kill it. If you disobey me you will faint, have an attack, and you will never become a shaman." The young initiate then passes on the order to her relatives, who must hasten to look for the animal described by the spirit and sacrifice it. When the celebration has ended, the spirit returns to tell the young girl: "Hang up ten necklaces in your room so that I may come down and help you." (These necklaces must be made of gold beads). The aspiring shaman acquires these necklaces with the help of her relatives and friends, even on loan, and hangs [301] them in her room so that she can "shamanize." The spirit, [426] grateful for her ready obedience and for the offering, approaches her once again and says: "Now you will make a truly good [834] shaman." And it warns her: "Now you may not sleep (cohabit) with your husband."

*756 Exercising the profession. When all these rites and ceremonies preparatory to entering the way of life of the shaman have [787] been complied with, the person chosen, as his protector spirit affirms, may then dedicate himself to that calling. The spirit itself has conferred such power. Better still, it has descended into the novice; it has entered his body to accompany him in every professional act, to communicate the arts indispensable or

[28 cont.]

756 Referring to the sexual aspect, we have the following
834 facts: 1) a woman of licentious habits can never get to exercise
833 the office of shaman; the spirit would never take up residence
within her; 2) the unmarried woman who is initiated into the
profession may have sexual relations only when she marries in
accordance with established rites, but with certain limitations.
[29] She may cohabit with her husband, and exclusively with
him, in spite of the phrases used by the spirit at the time of
initiation, "You may not sleep (cohabit) with your husband,"
but she must carry out the sexual act quickly and get up from
the matrimonial hammock as soon as it is finished; for if not,
they will see in the doorway of their habitation a shadow, in
appearance like a civilizado, who will speak into her ear say-
ing: "I do not like your sleeping with your husband because
you do not belong to him. You are mine, you are my loved
one." The woman therefore must perform coitus as hurriedly
as if she were committing a crime.

756 When a woman shaman marries, her spirit advises her as
842 follows: "So that you may not have children, since you are
always with your husband" in spite of my prohibition, put skeins
of wool on your wrists and on your ankles and around your waist
like a sirapo [loincloth], and tie a piece of onion to the wool."
The Indian woman who related this said that she had obeyed
the spirit's instructions in every detail, and she had never had
any more children. The spirit demanded a gold necklace from
her as recompense for its counsel.

756 Another female shaman with whom we had the opportunity
834 to converse recounted the following to us: When she married,
776 the spirit told her that it cared for her no longer. When she in-
767 quired the cause of this, the spirit replied that it was due to
the fact that after having been with her husband, she had a
smell of male goat, an odor which it did not like. The shaman
explained to the spirit that she had married because her parents
had told her. The spirit was quite angered with her and had no
wish to return to inspire her; it did not want her to marry be-
cause she belonged to it and not to anyone else. Finally it
agreed to the formula that she might cohabit with her husband
but must not linger over the sexual act.

[29 cont.]

756 When the woman becomes pregnant, the spirit puts up with
633 the situation without getting angry, but it does not show any such
834 patience if she delays a length of time in the sexual act with her
husband, or if she sleeps by his side throughout the night.

The female shaman's obligation, in the sexual aspect, goes
to the length of forcing her to be but a passive entity during
coitus, not permitting her body the slightest motion and also not
permitting any endearments from her husband before the sexual
act. When these dispositions are disobeyed, the shaman finds
[77] herself suffering during the night from especially terrifying and
horrible dreams which fill her with fears and anxieties.

756 The man who marries a shaman gets to understand his
643 wife's situation, and for this reason he is prudent in his actions:
He does not demand anything but the strictly indispensable, and
he is in accord with her in all matters related to her special
state. [30]

756 But in spite of all these prohibitions, the female shaman
776 who becomes pregnant receives aid from the spirit at the time
844 of giving birth. This assistance consists of an easy delivery of
her baby and of counsel her spirit gives her on the simplest form
of giving birth, the remedies she should take, etc.

756 The shaman must not perform ceremonial acts of curing
84 when she is in her menstrual period because the patient will be-
843 come worse instead of improving. However, pregnancy does
not present any obstacle to her activities, and she may accom-
plish cures during the entire period of gestation.

756 In the case of a male shaman, the spirit permits him to be
834 with his wife, but for a very short time; he is also allowed, as
[545] are the rest of the Guajiro, to have several wives.

In summary, women shamans must cohabit exclusively
with their husbands, avoiding all endearments, movements, the
prolongation of coitus, and pregnancy. They may not exercise
their functions during their menstrual periods. The male shaman
also must be moderate in the sexual aspect and limit himself to
his wife, or wives, as the case may be.

756 The food taboo is limited to prohibiting the shaman from
262 eating the flesh of such animals as he has received in payment

[85 cont.]

766 head downward, and then they cover it with a piece of another
clay olla, new, usually with a base. The urn is buried in the
[824] woods at the foot of a special tree called in Guajiro huruwá
("within us," etymologically), with the idea that the other chil-
dren that are born will not continue dying. No special ceremony
accompanies the burial of the child, which must be carried out
by the maternal uncle, since neither the father nor the mother
may be present because it is believed that if they should be all
their other children would also die as they were born.

765 When the first-born dies, and the work of its burial has
766 been complied with, the mother is put through the following
procedure: She is hung in a hammock for three days in a
closed room (it is really a small house made especially for the
purpose). After three days have passed, she is unslung from the
hammock, but she has to continue in seclusion for a further five
[834] months (five lunar months), and the husband is prohibited from
visiting her, with the idea of avoiding sexual contact. After
this seclusion the husband may return, and they resume normal
married life. During the time she is in the hammock, the
[262] woman is not allowed to receive any food except a medicine
called hawapi, which serves for fattening. This medicine is a
[278] mixture of scraped roots dissolved in cold water [86] and is drunk
after being strained. The wife receives this medicine from her
mother, who acts as her nurse.

[827] In other words, the mother, by reason of the death of her
first-born, has to repeat the complete cycle of seclusion as at the
initiation of young women when they reach puberty. The cere-
monial is the same, seclusion, taking of fattening medicine,
sexual exclusion of the man, and in general all contact or rela-
tions with him, etc.

764 If in spite of these precautions the next child should also die,
the previous cycle is not followed, but the baby is buried with
all due ceremony. A fiesta is arranged for the burial, a wake is
held with the usual distribution of liquor, and animals which the
maternal and paternal grandparents supply are sacrificed. The
mother undergoes a new special treatment but without those of
seclusion.

[94 cont.]

832 made into a ball. This paste is dissolved in the water that the person wishing to profit by its powers uses in his bath, or some other way which we shall see later.

d) Also considered a love charm is the string of necklaces made of small pieces of coconut shell and worn as ornaments by the Indian girls.

[66] e) A thing that is very commonly used as a love charm, especially by girls, is their own hair.

f) With the hair which has been taken from a girl when her first menstrual period occurs and mixed with hummingbird's blood, dog's tail, and achiote [bija], they make a love charm which has a most powerful effect on the girl to whom the hair belongs. The man who acquires it can consider himself virtually her owner.

g) Lastly, an element that enters decisively in the effective value of love charms is achiote powder, which should be rubbed on certain parts of the body of the owner of the charm when he or she wishes to attain a certain end.

Application and effects. When a woman makes use of a love charm which will give her the power always to be attractive to her husband and to regain his lost love or to win it, she should not eat any roasted food while she is trying to apply the qualities of her charm. She must also take the charm and rub it all over her body when she has recently given birth to a child or during her menstrual period. It is then that she should deny herself all [26a] roasted food (meat, roasted corn, etc.) on which there has been direct action from fire. She should also abstain from all [95] kinds of milk, should not go out in the sun, and should not let her face be seen by another woman. This last point is very important as if this should happen the effects she seeks will be obtained not by the person following the indicated regimen but will [834] automatically be transferred to the woman who has seen her face.

The woman who is owner of the charm must also abstain from cohabiting with her husband. When she bathes, she must do so not in the brook but inside her own home. The bathing must be done by another woman, starting at the crown of her head, then her shoulders, then her breast, and thus on to the whole body.

[128 cont.]
[82] of war to the death will result between the clans affected.

One has to take into account the fact that a woman who
[583] has been bought for wife is relatively valuable, and the native is not always in a position to accumulate the number of animals sufficient to pay for her, although it is considered an obligation on the part of his relatives to assist him when the time for his marriage arrives. As prostitution is so limited because of the
[548] condition of inferiority in which it places the woman who traffics in sex, the situation of the unmarried male in this respect is difficult. We repeat again that we make this statement on the
[178] basis of the facts of La Guajira social customs in normal times, and not on the basis of the present period when they are suffering from ever increasing problems of hunger, poverty, and acculturation, phenomena which are overthrowing all their traditional institutions.

Presenting the question in these terms, one can appreciate the trying position of the bachelor Guajiro native who is without slaves and without economic resources to enable him to buy a wife. He lives within a regimen of limitations and restrictions
[834] which reach even to sexual taboos which can be divided into two classes: special cases, especially applicable to the sex life of shamans, as we have seen; and general cases, applicable to the whole community and which go to the extreme of provoking
[195] curious euphemisms in the language when the word for the genital organ is phonetically similar to some other word, as in the case with the word for dog.

796 These restrictions must be considered in the totality of
786 the social norms, but this is not the moment to expound on them as they will be fully covered in this review as an interpretation of the whole of Guajiro society. However, we wish to point out their presence in the Dance of the Kid, or better said their absence, since, as we have said, these restrictions disappear, and there is complete sexual freedom which permits the minstrel to caress the young maids on the pretext of deciding their virginity or loss of it, a thing that in normal times would not be permitted, and to go to the extreme of countenancing carnal union without economic or social consequences, the only

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mental outlook it originates — imbued, as we have affirmed, with an animistic determinism — and the beliefs it implies in the different angles of Guajiro human activity, as it will have been possible to observe throughout the length of the work we are presenting. So much is this so that the very basic impulses of the individual are seen in many circumstances to be influenced by magic.

834 a) To prove this in the sexual aspect it suffices for us to cite again some facts already described and explained in previous chapters, such as the taboos imposed on the shamans, especially when they are women and according to which they should cohabit exclusively with their husbands, avoid caresses, motions, prolonged coitus, and pregnancy, and never exercise their functions during their menstrual periods. Besides this, it can be seen in the lifting of sexual taboos, or better said, the permitted violation of the norms which rule the community in this respect during the celebration of the Fiesta of the Kid, which reaches the point of allowing the consummation of the carnal act among the unmarried, an act absolutely prohibited in their society in normal times and which would provoke — as fully explained in the corresponding section — compensation payment and even interclan war with its tremendous consequences of persecution, annihilation, and slavery. It can also be observed in what we called the "proof of virginity," which permits a male to caress the bodies of young women who take part in the fiesta, an action prohibited, as in the previous case, in normal times.

832 Among the charms we also found some that act in this way, and also significant is the act of rubbing bixa ointment on the genital organs and breasts to make them more effective in love-making.

262 b) In the matter of food we saw proofs of the influence of magic, especially related to the life of the shaman, particularly when he is in one of his "illumination" trances or in a curing ceremony. This influence also shows itself in the shaman's initiation, in the initiation of [158] young women, in the magic contamination of food by some animals which can cause sickness in newborn children, and in the prohibition against eating the flesh of the hawk which produces sterility in young and old of both sexes. Also, it is found in relatives being forbidden to eat the

250 Our provisions were at an end. We had been too generous and not rationed them strictly, the men having complained of hunger the whole time. Now we were suffering for it.

136 Away in the distance, well out of range, we saw a *remade*, a deer, making off through the cactus with graceful bounds. Where did the deer drink? Surely they would not dare approach the Indians' water-holes, which were either guarded or covered.

'Deer do not drink,' said the Indians. 'They are content with the dew they can lick out of the cactus flowers.'

608 We were thus without both food and water. We whites had tinned food, but the Indians only appreciated the empty tins. The Lad then offered to get us some food and water. He had not been away more than an hour, when he returned with a young girl carrying a live kid in her arms. She wore nothing but the remnants of a woman's loin cloth, and apparently knew that white people did not approve of nakedness, for she tried to hide her charms behind the kid.

[439] We therefore gave her a piece of white cloth in payment, although it was really a pity to let her cover herself, for she was the shapeliest Indian girl we had yet seen in the peninsula. The cloth would protect her from the sun and make her fair-skinned and beautiful, so she was overjoyed and offered to show us the way to what she said was a much better water hole.

312 This new water hole was shaded by some divi-divi trees—the trees were withered and their shade sparse—and surrounded by reddish hillocks. It was not very deep and a couple of women were bathing in it. They paid no attention to us, nakedness in the bath being considered decent. Our Indians and animals were able to drink as much as they liked there, and we also filled our water-containers. Then we moved on looking for a suitable place in which to eat our goat in peace.

270 Gladivet, our photographer, put up the tent to give us a little shade, and meanwhile the Indians slaughtered the kid and cut it up. My wife cooked the pieces we had taken for ourselves, helped by the little girl who had come with us. She was now wearing the piece of cloth like a pinafore and

and shrieks. Francisco put on a spurt and got there ahead of us; then he turned and called to us:

'Hurry, there's a child being born!'

He pointed to our camera, evidently thinking that that was an event to be filmed.

844 The Indians consider childbirth a natural function that does not need to be hidden. It often takes place in the presence of the entire household, even of children, and if neighbours arrive, they can be present too. Even intimate marital acts take place quite openly, to the amazement and [933] embarrassment of a white person. We thought it best for [934] my wife to go in to the woman in labour, while we sat and talked with the grandfather, who was sitting by himself by the fire. Soon some children came and joined us, having evidently been sent away from the scene of the birth, where something apparently had gone wrong. Now they could look their fill at two white men instead.

The old grandfather was talkative. He told us how the [57] eldest son must always come into the world with the wife's family. There, too, a newly married couple live for the first year. If they are staying elsewhere, the husband takes his wife to her parents' home when the child is expected.

[843] For a long time she will have been taking various decoctions of herbs and observed certain precautionary measures and rules intended to influence the birth favourably. The wife's family is responsible that all will go well. Should the child or mother die, the man has the right to demand damages of his wife's family. On the other hand, said the old man, the second child is born in the father's family, and they must take the risk. Subsequent children can be born in the couple's own home.

843 A pregnant woman must keep away from funerals, graves and anything to do with death, and it is very important [845] that she takes care not to catch sight of a snake. Snakes have a bad influence on parturition. Under no circumstances may a husband kill a snake while his wife is pregnant. A child is a weak, defenceless being and exposed to attack by dangerous spirits. There is an intimate connection between the father and the child, and what the father does is of

CONJURATION OF SPIRITS

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the demon of illness and death, Wanuru, is called Jirarai 756
 Wanuru is the name of all the spirits of the dead which are 776
 many, thus we are obviously dealing here with groups of
 spirits; and where Wanuru acts as guardian or assistant
 spirits, they no doubt represent the souls of dead medicine
 men.

One piache, known as a clever rain-maker, told us that 756
 when he needed advice over rain-making, he used to go to 776
 the burial place to talk with his dead brother's spirit, the
 brother having been cleverer at it than he. When a piache 789
 has to make rain, he seats himself on his stool as for other
 functions, chews tobacco, shakes his maraca and rhyth-
 mically moves his torso and head. He then begins to sing
 in a high voice, calling upon the spirits and demanding
 that they bring rain, for people need it, if they are not to
 die of hunger. Now and again he emerges and dances
 round the huts, driving away the spirits that are preventing
 the rain from coming.

The Indians often first try to make rain without the 789
 piache's help, by drumming at night or by firing guns and 821
 arrows at the clouds. The drumming imitates thunder and
 can thus, according to the laws of magic, cause storms. The
 shooting drives away the spirits that are preventing the
 cloud from dispensing its rain. This is also what they do at
 eclipses of the sun, when all burst into tears and shoot at the
 sky to drive away the evil spirit that is preventing the sun
 from shining. A piache's own spirit does not interfere in
 his magic-making, for which he uses none but auxiliary 775
 spirits. It is not till after his death that a piache's spirit can
 become active and help some other piache.

The piache has to submit to certain restrictions on diet 756
 and love-life. He or she must never have extra-marital 734
 intercourse and even marital intercourse must be restricted.
 A female piache must never spend the night with her hus-
 band, but merely pay him fleeting visits that should be as
 short as possible; she must never allow herself to be cared
 sed by him, and must lie quite still and indifferent during 833
 coition. If this is not done, her guardian spirit will be jealous
 and angry, and may cause trouble. And, preferably, she 756
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